

B104

WORONI

THE NEWSPAPER OF THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY STUDENT'S ASSOCIATION VOL. 20 NO.5 April 18, 1968.



'PEACE NOW (OR PEACE OFF)'

CANBERRA (W.S.R.S.):— Despite a heavy pre-Easter schedule, one of the all time greats of the peace campaign found time to drop in on the national capital for the Dean Rusk demo.

While waiting for ducks to fly across the afternoon sky, a camouflaged WORONI photographer, by sheer luck, captured his arrival.

The only comment from the visitor came as Dean Rusk sped out of the Lodge, when he was heard to mumble "Peace now, or peace off."

Demo story page 3.

WORONI



I mean, should the overall standard of student creativity be reflected in, and determine, the overall standard of WORONI?

There were numerically small cores of students producing WORONI. Each group had at least one thing in common - they were all overworked. This overloading of responsibility forced premature termination of office and perhaps two or three times a year WORONI changed hands.

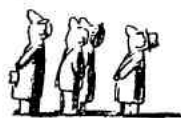
Consequently WORONI cliquety-clacked from one side of the paper path to the other and never did it have the type of consistency that the very nature of a student newspaper demands. Rather it was a rag that was blown on by the mere few who happened to be in the group at the moment. Certainly some past issues of WORONI were more than credible, others fluctuated to the other extreme. In either case WORONI was a personality press, the standard of which represented the few in control and not students within the A.N.U.

It is a factor, perhaps the factor most worthy of concern. I mean this WORONI has been a synthesis of ideas and effort from many people. No longer can the production of this paper be the claim of a few.

There are people who sit in the Union and talk. Those people over there were talking about three issues: National Service, the Call-Up and Conscription.

They said there should be available to students a responsible body that can be approached for the details every young man should know about National Service. Concerning the Call-Up they said there should be an apolitical body who assess relevant information that students want to know about. For Conscription, they said, there should be a group of informants who are only too eager to tell students what they want to know.

The people over there should go and have a chat at the next S.R.C. meeting.



.....as your S.R.C. rep. I will personally keep a check on the Administration.....

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Geoffrey Kingston, Alan Rix, Helen
Jarvis, Maxine Fearn, Peter Symonds,
Alan Gould, Jean Deffenbaugh, Chris
Sparke, Ian Black, Cherylle Miller and
many others.
Richard Stark, Alan Davies, Charlie
Dickens, Sue Nichols, Bill Taylor.
Leighton Smith.
Dave Brubeck.

LETTERS

SRC

SA

ELECTIONS ELECTIONS

Dear Sir,
As some students will doubtless realise, nominations for the S.R.C. election must be returned to the returning officer in the S.R.C. Office by 5pm today. Before hopeful and would-be student politicians rush to get their nominations in I would ask them to think of the following points:

The nature and work of the S.R.C. is, to a very large degree, intangible, and hours spent doing a job do not usually give immediate results. Further, much time is spent at meetings where very little would appear to be achieved. In the past too little time has been spent on homework and dirty office work, many S.R.C. members being lazy and what is worse, uninformed and uninterested.

It must not be doubted that to write "Member of A.N.U. S.R.C." on a job application is some help in acquiring the job but, idealistic as it may seem I would ask impending S.R.C. members to stand for election only if they believe they can contribute to its effectiveness, not for personal advantages that accrue therefrom.

An S.R.C. President can expect to spend at least 20 hours a week on his job and this time is the absolute minimum. An Executive member or an important office bearer can expect to devote about the same time. An ordinary member of the S.R.C. must be prepared to devote at least 10 hours a week to his job, usually by attending meetings or doing other kinds of jobs. Amember who just rolls up to meetings and does nothing else is not doing his job, nor can he be said to be representing any to the best of his ability.

Whether a student stands to represent or stands to hold a certain office, once elected he must still accept the burden of having to carry out some of the many jobs the S.R.C. has to conduct.

However, one further requirement still remains. A candidate must be prepared to serve his entire period of office. An S.R.C. cannot afford to keep filling vacancies. No objection is made to a member who resigns over a question of principle provided it is genuine, but people who stand knowing they cannot serve their full term or who are not so prepared should not be elected. The outgoing S.R.C. for instance includes only six persons of the original 21, who continued in office uninterrupted since the last elections.

The number of office bearers who have changed over shows a greater degree of discontinuity. There have been three secretaries, two Directors of Student Publications, three Directors of Clubs and Societies and innumerable changes in other portfolios. Such chopping and changin does not give better student government.

In order to improve the quality of the S.R.C. each and every voter is therefore asked to get an assurance from the candidates that if elected the candidate will work diligently. No one expects perfection but you have a right to expect some energy and labor. If you do not get such assurances do not vote for the candidate.

Yours etc.,

Alan Brooks.

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Deadline next issue: April 25.
Copy to the S.R.C. Office.

Dear Sir,
Being that "insensitive observer" mentioned in the lead article of your last issue, I feel more than ever now that other viewpoints on the S.A. elections should be proposed, viewpoints which naturally Mr Dunstan omitted to mention in his speech. But first, the word "insensitive" - it is a total misnomer. For even as a Liberal, I DO believe in democratic ideals and feel nothing but sympathy for Mr Dunstan's case. My argument lies in what caused his position - and I do not believe that the gerrymander is anywhere near as much at fault as Mr Dunstan would have it.

Some facts: Mr Dunstan devoted a major part of his speech in pointing out that no electoral reform was carried out in the three years of Labor government in S.A. (Here again I feel for him because Labor squandered all chance of performing such acts in their first two years in office, under the utterly uninspiring leadership of Mr Frank Walsh, which at times nearly plunged into the realms of incompetence. Mr Dunstan was bequeathed nothing more than the shadow of an effective State Government.) Nevertheless, his statement emphasises that the 1968 elections were fought on the same battlefields as those of 1965. The only changes were in the attitudes of the swinging voters, those who had won him sufficient marginal seats in 1965 to give him the right to govern. In 1965 the S.A. electors showed dissatisfaction with enough individual Liberal candidates to give Labor a solid 21 - 17 majority, with the independent, Mr Stott, holding the remaining seat. But in 1968, the voter decreed that two Labor members (one of which was the senior Cabinet Minister, Mr Bywaters, a man of many years parliamentary standing) should lose their seats. These men had held their seats in 1965 and had lost them in 1968; the other 37 seats in the House of Assembly were retained by the same parties that had won them in 1965. These two Labor members in the country seats of Chaffey and Murray had survived the most severe years of gerrymander, when Sir Thomas Playford was in power and was wielding that power for the benefit of his government.

Yet in that time the voters of Chaffey and Murray did not see fit to have their members removed by them, from, Parliament. But as soon as Labor was put into power the adequacy of their individual representation suffered, and because it is the nature of provincial voters, especially, to want the best possible to be done for them by their member, they looked for a superior alternative.

Mr Dunstan's party overcame the gerrymander in 1965 comfortably in relation to seats won, but in some the majority was minimal indeed. Marginal seats gave Labor the government in 1965 and lost it for them in 1968. It fell foul of the fickle fellows in Chaffey and Murray, which is the direct cause of their loss of government.

Surely Mr Dunstan if you could overcome this obstacle once, would not have satisfactory representation by the two members involved have enabled you to do so again? Please sir, do not blame a gerrymander that you defeated comfortably only three years ago, when the dissatisfaction of certain electorates is responsible. In 1965 Labor gained over 55% of the votes and this year barely 53% of them. A swing of over 2% of the votes away from Labor, where so many marginal seats are involved, could be fatal.

And, it seems, it has been.

Yours etc.

Gavin Easom.

* * *

Saturday's Children

Dean Rusk must have been mightily impressed by the roar of almost 65 voices as he sped away from the Lodge. The noise of his motor cycle escort was momentarily drowned.



In order to achieve this impressive result a group of dedicated demonstrators spent Saturday shifting from foot to foot outside the P.M.'s Lodge. They assembled at 1.00p.m. outside the U.S. Embassy to pose for pressmen and then proceeded to The Lodge.

There was little to relieve the boredom of the long afternoon. Devotees of police humor will be disappointed to hear that even this usual source of merriment and amusement was almost dried up. However when asked to comment upon the large number of people present one constable quipped dryly, 'It's Saturday,' and not resisting a smile at his own levity wandered off.

Some slight comic relief was provided by the antics of the plain clothes uniformed Security men who engaged themselves in taking car numberplates and photographs of Woroni staff.

up the poll . . .

WORONI is interested in assessing student opinion on a variety of issues. An inexpensive method of polling has been devised in theory, though WORONI has reserved opinion regarding its effectiveness which depends mainly on two factors: the efficiency of the polling staff and the degree of student response.

People interested in joining the polling staff are requested to leave their names at the S.R.C. Office before April 25.

education survey

The Educational Research Unit at the request of the University will be shortly conducting a survey of both part-time and full-time students at the A.N.U. The study is primarily aimed at gathering data on part-time students and the information from full-timers will be used for comparative purposes.

Studies of part time students at other Universities have produced conflicting conclusions on the academic potential, maturity, motivations, participation in University life, and the pressures operating on part-time students. The aim of the study is to examine factors involved in part-time studies at this University, and the gains students make from University attendance.

The study will be comparing part-time and full time students on such factors as attitudes toward University study, achievement will be isolated, not only in terms of academic success, but also in terms of the general values of participation in the University culture.

Information will be collected in the form of a postal questionnaire and a test session lasting up to two hours. Approximately 500 students will receive the questionnaire and will be asked to attend a testing session toward the end of first term. As the results of the study should benefit both part-time and full-time students, the Unit expects a good response from the students selected for the sample.



Our boys in uniform were represented by several airmen from Fairburn who sported a South Vietnamese flag inscribed with the words 'From the Whore (crossed out) War Mongers of Vung Tau.' Led by one Wayne Darcy, they were engaged in demonstrating against the demonstration and stayed just long enough to get themselves in the news. Before leaving they showed the bravery traditionally associated with Australian fighting men and attempted to pick a fight with several of the female demonstrators. The argument quickly degenerated to the, 'Yes you are' no I'm not' level typical of most discussions on Vietnam.

The relatively poor attendance at the demonstration was probably due to the Peace moves in the air at the time. Many people felt that it was ill-timed and would accomplish little. However, many demonstrators such as Father Bunyan of St. Mark's Theological Institute asserted that it would add force to any peace proposals.

The Father carried a sign inscribed, 'Don't Crucify any More Vietnamese.'

The demonstration was organized by The Vietnam Action Committee and dedicated anti-Yanks can expect others in the future. When the day's work was over the placards were collected again.

news

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

In order to demand higher Government subsidies for the Universities, students at the University of Santo Domingo decided in the middle of February to demonstrate in front of the Government Palace. The rally was banned. Students assembled in the University buildings on 14th February whereupon they were surrounded by army units equipped with tanks. The first clashes took place between students, police and soldiers; one student was shot dead. In the evening of 14th February the students and the Government finally reached agreement - the students were able to leave the University unimpeded. For the time being, the problem of higher subsidies remains unsolved.

AUSTRALIA

A team from the A.N.U., the University of Adelaide and the Northern Territory Administration will attempt to determine a connection between the way of life and the incidence of infant mortality on the Papunya and Yuendumu aboriginal settlements, west of Alice Springs.

MALAYSIA

The question of a private racial University for the Chinese is being hotly debated by politicians and educationalists in Malaysia.

Fortunately common sense prevails. Says Joseph Siow Loong Hin, a Chinese community leader: "A private racial University, no matter in what language, would not be conducive to understanding and harmony in a multi-racial society. In the present circumstances it can only bring confusion and misunderstanding. I would appeal to all those who have the education of our children at heart not to make this a political issue or a political stunt, because it is at the expense of our future generations and also at the expense of those who are students at present".



BIG GIRL ON CAMPUS?

...W.U.S....MISS UNIVERSITY QUEST.

All religious, cultural, political, sporting, faculty etc. clubs and societies are invited to sponsor a candidate. The clubs stand to gain a lot from the publicity and excitement of the quest. An entrance fee of \$10 will be charged. Applications (and any inquiries) should be sent to 'Miss University Director' c/- SRC Office as soon as possible.

STUDENT ADMINISTRATION OFFICE

Following discussions about the difficulty some students have in reaching the office of Student Administration during working hours, it has been arranged that the office will remain open during the lunch hour. At this time the issue of travel concessions, identity cards, course variation forms etc., will continue.

USA

A "Berlin Wall" complete with mock Communist guards, was erected on the Ohio State campus on January 25. The wall was put up to block off a Russian education exhibition at the university. The wall was removed 15 minutes later on orders from a university official. There were no incidents. The symbolic protest wall was erected by the Young Americans for Freedom, a campus group.

GREECE

56 professors at Greek universities and colleges were dismissed by the Greek Minister for Education at the end of January. They are professors from Athens and Salonica, known for their democratic attitudes. In addition, the police President in Salonica addressed a circular letter to the Deans of the Faculties informing them that from then on it was forbidden for members of the teaching staff to leave Greece without special permission.

NETHERLANDS

A Critical University is to be formed in Nymwegen. A declaration in the Dutch Trade Union stated: "The starting point for our ideas on a critical university is the disproportion between a small group of politically committed, critical students on the one hand, and the great majority of unpolitical students on the other. We regard the KU as one method of bridging the gap between the two groups. How does the small vanguard of students arise which is at present in one way or another in opposition? The awareness of powerlessness or the will towards change are the consequences of a series of personal conflicts in which they became involved. To a large extent the left-wing elite consists of unsuccessful students: The adaptation mechanism has failed, the future is blocked. As well as the normal subjects, mathematics, law etc. the KU has study groups formed from students of various faculties to discuss such topics as Vietnam; Leninism and educational policy and university structure.

POLAND

On January 30, Warsaw police arrested about 50 students protesting the closure by force of a famous Polish play spiced with a sharp anti-Russian flavour. According to an eyewitness, as many as 200 youthful demonstrators gathered after the final showing of "Dziady" (Forefather's Eve) and chanted "free art, free theatre" and unfurled a sign saying "We demand further performances". The group dwindled to some 50 and was marching in the vicinity of the censor's office when the police moved in and made arrests. Most were released after being detained for some hours.

ENGLAND

A wide split is developing among student bodies over the Government's decision to limit the increase in student grants this year. The National Union of Students' executive is determined to adopt a moderate stance, believing that militant action would lead nowhere and only alienate trade union support. The Radical Student Alliance formed eighteen months ago has different ideas. Their ranks comprise everything from anarchists to Trotskyists. They plan a series of local and national activities in protest. Could you really smuggle a telegraph pole to 10 Downing Street and batter down the Prime Minister's door? Is it really possible that a cold pie could be thrown at the Private Secretary to the Minister for Education? These are threats that have been made. All this will culminate on May 1 when a "day of action" will be held.

Expulsion from Oxford may be expected for the members of the Buddhist Society there. The University authorities accuse it of close connection with dope-peddlers. A member of the society was in fact fined 150 pounds in 1966 for possessing LSD and cannabis. The Secretary of the Buddhist Society has rejected these charges as unfounded.

DON'T MISS THESE UNION NIGHTS

- 1 In collaboration with SCM, Pluralist Soc. and Abschol, a panel discussion
BLACK POWER
guest panel-member; Cultural Attache, U.S. Embassy,
Friday April 19 8 p.m. Refectory Admission and Supper Free
- 2 **FOLK CONCERT**
- Wine and Cheese Afterwards.
Thursday April 25 8 p.m. Admission 50 cents
- 3 Panel discussion of Colin Mackerras' book on Contemporary China
CHINA OBSERVED
Chairman Professor Fitzgerald
Tuesday May 7 8 p.m. Admission and Supper Free

BIAS



WORONI: President Johnson has called a bombing pause to persuade Hanoi to negotiate. Do you think he should have offered more?

DR. CAIRNS: America's new position will almost certainly not help. Firstly, the U.S. does not seem to realize that the National Liberation Front is a party to the conflict. A conference with North Vietnam would merely be concerned with her intervention in the South. Furthermore, one-third of North Vietnam is still being bombed.

If the U.S. had offered what was asked for by the North - unconditional cessation of the bombing - chances of negotiation would have been much better.

WORONI: Any comment on President Johnson's announcement that he will not seek re-election?

DR. CAIRNS: There is no reason to believe that President Johnson is not being sincere. Just the same, his popularity could show a marked increase with the announcement of a bombing pause and I would not rule out the possibility that he will be back in the running - somehow or another.

WORONI: Mr. Whitlam's comment on President Johnson's Vietnam decision were relegated to page three of most newspapers. Do you think that the A.L.P. receives unfair treatment from the press?

DR. CAIRNS: Mr. Whitlam's comments should have been given greater prominence by the newspapers and I have not seen one cartoon that links A.L.P. policy and the latest Vietnam developments. On balance, the A.L.P. does receive un-

fair treatment from the press.

WORONI: Rex Mortimer has stated that "people on both sides of the political fence seem to agree that Communism poses the most dynamic challenge to the capitalist order". Do you agree? Should the A.L.P. occupy this role?

DR. CAIRNS: Rex Mortimer is right if he is referring to the world context, but this is not true of the Australian scene. As for the A.L.P. occupying this role, I think that the word "dynamic" is too strong. However the A.L.P. must be clearly distinguishable from the capitalist parties to be effective.

WORONI: People have accused you of being dogmatic. Any comment?

DR. CAIRNS: They are probably right. But you must remember that I do more research and investigation into issues than any other politician in Australia. My final decision is not based on any political, philosophical or religious dogma. When this is taken into account I would concede that I am dogmatic.

WORONI: Your book "Living with Asia" points to hedonism as being a characteristic of Australians. You also said that you would try to change this if possible. I wonder if this is ethically justifiable....

DR. CAIRNS:I am ethically justified. If I see a man walking toward a 2000 foot cliff I tell him to stop. If I see a man stepping out of a plane I hand him a parachute....

WORONI: Thank you. Finally, which candidate for the democratic nomination would you personally like to see elected?

DR. CAIRNS: McCarthy impresses me with his sincerity, but on the other hand I don't agree that Kennedy is insincere. Furthermore, McCarthy was quiet for a long time about the war in Vietnam. Kennedy has been questioning Administration policy for much longer. My choice would be between these two but before I committed myself I would have to learn a lot more about it. Perhaps I would have to go to America to find out.

BURGMANN AFRICAN STUDENTS' COLLEGE CONFERENCE

Despite general University opposition to ecclesiastical colleges, the last day of March saw the commencement of our third such institution, Burgmann College, in a reasonably well attended ceremony at the site on picturesque Sullivans Creek. The congregation there heard the virtues of ecclesiastical colleges espoused by a platform of church, governmental and university leaders.



After an introduction and welcome by Bishop K.J. Clements of Canberra and Goulburn, the meeting was addressed by the chairman of the Public Service Board and of the Burgmann Committee Sir Frederick Wheeler, who suggested that a need had been felt within the Government for religious colleges at A.N.U. By the late 1970s, he pointed out, there would be 2300 out-of-Canberra students at A.N.U., and the halls would need to carry the burden of the accommodation of these persons. Additionally, he stated, denominational colleges provide a 'broadening of horizons' and 'an atmosphere conducive to study'.

Sir John Crawford then welcomed, on behalf of the University, those present and outlined the process by which this University will further align itself with university traditions (and perhaps pick up a few of the fringe benefits, such as fresher bashings, which ecclesiastical colleges seem to confer on such universities as Sydney) by succumbing to government and religious pressures and permitting the establishment of denominational colleges. These colleges, he said, would not be places of indoctrination. In this way, as in many others, the college was aptly named. The late Bishop Burgmann, he said, had been an active opponent of 'strait-jacket' education and a supporter of a tolerant spirit, and the establishment of a joint Protestant college had been a venture dear to his heart. The Minister for Education and Science, The Hon. Malcolm Fraser, then officially launched the Burgmann College Foundation Fund Appeal. He reiterated the views that halls of residence provide an ideal and the development of character through independence. Burgmann College, he said, should be open for the 1970 academic year. (The respective Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregationalist, Baptist and Church of Christ gods willing.) Of the \$1 million needed for the project, three quarters would be provided by the Commonwealth Government and the remainder by public appeal. The college will eventually hold 500 male and female students.

The Minister then moved on to universities in general; he pointed out that approximately one third of all Undergraduates leave University without a degree. This situation should be improved he thought, perhaps by better selection techniques and aptitude tests, although he stressed that any person has the right to attend a university. He also commended the suitability of Earnest Henry Burgmann's name for the college in view of that churchman's interest in the Student Christian Movement and other such organisations, and suggested that if the Burgmann Appeal was over-subscribed, any additional funds would be put to good use.

The ceremony was concluded by the Reverend Rex Matthias on behalf of the participant denominations with thanks to the platform, the committees and to all those interested in the Burgmann Project.

The All African Students' Union of Australia.

The 1968 Convention of the All African Students' Union of Australia will be held in Canberra from May 20th to 24th inclusive. The venue will be the Haydon-Allen lecture theatre of the ANU.

The Union comprises of all African Students presently pursuing a course of study in Australia. It is hoped that this year's Convention would be attended by more than 80 African Students and this body would be thoroughly representative of a majority of Independent African States.

Highlights of the Convention will include:

(1) An address by Sir James Plimsoll, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs. He will speak on 'Australia and Africa'.

(2) The main address will be given by Dr. Colin Tatz of Monash University. His theme will be centred on 'The ingredients of the South African Apartheid Doctrine'. Essentially his paper would be in two parts:

(a) a brief historical analysis of the factors in, and moving for, apartheid, and

(b) the sociological and political implications and consequences of that doctrine.

(3) An address is also expected to be delivered by the High Commissioner of Ghana in Australia and it will essentially deal with aspects of African politics.

Among the many other interesting items will include a party to be held on Friday night, the 24th May at Garron Hall Junior Common Room, commencing at 8p.m.

An invitation is extended to all to attend all sessions of the Convention and the party.

All enquiries should be directed to Mr A.C. Bundu, Garron Hall, Box 813, Canberra 2601.

IN SIDE OUT

In the 'INSIDE OUT' broadcast of April 1, the Minister for Immigration, Mr. Sneddon, and the Labor Premier of South Australia, Mr. Dunstan, were interviewed.

When questioned about the 'White Australia Policy', Mr. Sneddon said that it was designed to build up a homogeneous society and so to avoid the racial troubles which afflicted other countries. However it was now easier for Asians to enter Australia and take up permanent residence. Whereas an Asian Migrant could obtain citizenship after a period of 15 years permanent residence, after the passing of an Act in 1958, during the last two years they had been able to become citizens after 5 years. The type of Asian who became a citizen was the skilled worker, which might have been expected to cause a 'run on brain drain' in the countries concerned. However there appears to be no ill will to Australia on the part of these countries.

In the April 8 programme, Mr George Westbrook, a lecturer in Political Science at the A.N.U., gave his comments on the decision of President Johnson not to seek re-election. He described Johnson as a political manipulator, sincere in his aims but manoeuvring Congress to push his policy through.

Also interviewed was the Reverend W. Yoltson, who was a contemporary of Robert Kennedy at Harvard. He describes Kennedy as vigorous, intense, quick to arrive at conclusions and possessing a certain arrogance. He thought that America was approaching a major internal crisis and Kennedy might be just the man to galvanise the nation.

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DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

It is not without great significance that this tragedy and our tribute to the life, character and work of a great Christian and our effort to understand what has happened fall within the period of the Easter season.

What happened that Thursday will help us to penetrate a little deeper into the meaning of Easter Friday and the light which will come to those of us who are Christians Good Friday will illumine the meaning of the event of that Thursday.

But we must see and interpret the significance of the two days in the glorious light of the faith and fact of Easter Day.

The main events of Martin Luther King's life have been assembled together and made known. As a member of the Australian section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the world-wide but small-number organisation of Christians devoted to the way of Christian pacifism and the way of non-violence, the organisation of which Dr. King was one of our most distinguished members, I accepted the honour of helping the Churches of Canberra to pay this tribute to one of the world's great Christians.

It was said of Jesus in the days immediately preceding the events of the last week: 'He set his face steadfastly to go to Jerusalem.'

We sometimes sing: 'It was the way the Master went. Should not the servant tread it still?' The New Testament makes it clear that the first disciples of Jesus followed Him but reluctantly, fearfully and a long way behind. Not so Martin Luther King. To those amongst his friends and more timid supporters who judged his non-violent campaigns 'unwise and untimely', to those who urged caution, to those who said 'Wait', he justified his legitimate and unavoidable impatience. 'We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and

actions of bad people but for the appalling silence of the good people,' he said.

Martin Luther King, the disciple, shared with his Master and Lord, Jesus Christ, a remarkable singlemindedness.

His singlemindedness gave him a sense of dedication to a high purpose. He took every opportunity to obey his sense of call - to manifest the love of God. He showed Christianity in its working clothes. He said: 'Any religion that professes to be concerned about the souls of men and is not concerned about the slums that damn them, the economic conditions that strangle them is a religion at the point of death, awaiting burial.' To the people for whose welfare he lived and planned and worked, and to the people whose mind and attitude he sought to change by the way of non-violent persuasion, his every word and action proclaimed: 'I am the servant of God and I am your servant, for God's sake.'

His singlemindedness convinced him that there could be no compromise on his part and, if there was no change of heart on the part of those bitterly opposed him amongst both the white people and the black people of America, there might well be for him a crucifixion as there was for his Master. On each occasion when he set his face steadfastly to go into a city on a campaign assignment he knew that he was in great danger from the lunatic fringe which disgraces the life of every nation.

Out of his deep conviction, he spoke prophetically, as did the Hebrew prophets of Israel. He acted, as they did, courageously. He spoke specifically to real issues, not in vague and broad general principles. This made him listened to, as the Hebrew prophets were listened to, and, as in their case, it got him into a lot of trouble and opposition. But he always spoke to interpret and make meaningful the love-ethic of Jesus.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote his own eulogy in a sermon he once delivered at Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, the church where his own funeral service was held. He asked his followers not to give him a long funeral. "And if you get somebody to deliver the eulogy, tell him not to talk too long". He asked not to be remembered for the Nobel Peace Prize or his education. "I'd like somebody to mention that day that Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his life serving others. --- Yes, if you want to, say that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace.--- I just want to leave a committed life behind".

After this request, it may seem superfluous to say anything more. But much more needs to be said if only to underline, elaborate and re-emphasize the Christian message for which he stood.

At 3 p.m. on Palm Sunday in Canberra Baptist Church, an inter-denominational, multi-racial service was attended by about three hundred people, including many A.N.U. staff and students and several A.N.U. chaplains, who, through the Canberra Ministers Fraternal had arranged the service. Catholics, Anglicans, Quakers and the Salvation Army were among the many denominations represented. More important, perhaps, was the presence of representatives of every continent. No invitations had been issued, and next to no publicity had been possible, but many countries were represented, not only the United States, but also India, Ghana, Trinidad, Singapore and Brazil, to name but a few. The President of the Ministers Fraternal, the Rev. D.W. Erickson, a Presbyterian, conducted the service. He led us in prayers which included the reading of a most moving meditation written by a Catholic Priest, Abbe-Michel Quoist. The Minister of the Church, the Rev. G. Brogden, who had himself studied for a year in a Baptist seminary in North Carolina, read Bible passages appropriate to Dr. King's role as a Moses of his people, and as an Apostle of love. Two addresses were given, both of which stressed the theme of love and non-violence. We print them elsewhere on this page. We began with a magnificently joyful Easter hymn. We concluded with the song of the "Freedom Movement". Many of us were moved to tears as we sang "We Shall Overcome".

Dr. King's message was to the Negro poor, the meek, the underprivileged, "the wretched of this earth"; but it was also to the affluent, the comfortable, the white elite "Black and White together" was his plea. Woroni, therefore, offers this tribute to a man whose drumbeat for peace, justice and love must also be heard in Australia. He speaks to Australia's 'mindless hedonism' as well as to the racial hatred of his own Nation.

Of the struggle in the bus-boycott movement in Montgomery, Alabama, the non-violent campaign which made Dr. King's name, he said that 'Christ furnished the spirit and motivation and Gandhi furnished the method.'

From this point, I want to allow Martin Luther King to speak directly to us in his own way. Here, for example, is part of a sermon which he preached in his church in Montgomery in November, 1956, during the bus-boycott campaign:

'Always be sure that you struggle with Christian methods and Christian weapons. Never succumb to the temptation of becoming bitter. As you press for justice, be sure to move with dignity and discipline, using only the weapon of love. Let no man pull you so low as to hate him. Always avoid violence. If you succumb to the temptation of using violence in your struggle, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness, and your chief legacy of the

future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos.

'In your struggle for justice, let your oppressor know that you are not attempting to defeat or humiliate him, or even to pay him back for injustices that he has heaped upon you. Let him know that you are merely seeking justice for him as well as for yourself. Let him know that the festering sore of segregation debilitates the white man as well as the Negro. With this attitude, you will be able to keep your struggle on high Christian standards.

'Many persons will realise the urgency of seeking to eradicate the evil of segregation. There will be many Negroes who will devote their lives to the cause of freedom. There will be many white persons of good will and strong moral sensitivity who will dare to take a stand for justice. Honesty impels me to admit that such a stand will require willingness to suffer and sacrifice. So don't despair if you are condemned and persecuted for righteousness' sake. Continued page 7



'A MAN WHO WONT DIE'

a panegyric by Dr. Hector Gilchrist Kinloch, Lecturer in American History, A.N.U.

Opening prayer:

Would you join with me in a prayer taken from an American prayer book. It is a prayer for the Easter season. It is a prayer for a time of trouble.

"O Lord God, whose blessed Son our Saviour — hid not his face from shame; Grant us grace to take joyfully the sufferings of the present time, in full assurance of the glory that shall be revealed; through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Grant us grace to take joyfully the sufferings of the present time". Such a deeply Christian prayer is surely appropriate, even essential, as we gather in this quiet church in this calm, placid city of Canberra, on this beautiful Palm Sunday, so very far from Memphis, Tennessee, to consider the life and death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was the Moses of his people, a great Christian leader, a man of peace, an apostle of non-violence, an advocate of forgiveness and reconciliation in the midst of "the sufferings of the present time".

Let us not, today, reflect on the manner of his death, except to say that if we wish to be true to the Christian faith of Martin Luther King, then we must echo a statement of Dr. King himself:

"The non-violent man not only refuses to shoot his opponent but also to hate him".

Let us not today, confuse the terrible aftermath of the death of Dr. King with the life, aims, faith and purposes of the man whom we are gathered here to honour. This is not to ignore the violence of the manner of his death, or the violence which his death has now provoked. Rather our responsibility in honouring the man is to honour also his message. Dr. King is not the first apostle of peace to die violently.

One of Dr. King's own heroes was Mahatma Gandhi. On January 30th, 1948, Mahatma Gandhi was shot while at prayers. Before Gandhi died he asked that the assassin be forgiven. In the Christian tradition there are many instances of the preachers of peace giving their lives for their faith. Indeed, on this Palm Sunday, we may prayerfully remind ourselves of the manner of the death of Christ and Christ's own response to those who put him to death: Father, forgive them".

educated, segregation ended. Let us name new cities and new projects after him. But let us remember, again, the kind of message he preached:

"The non-violent man not only refuses to shoot his opponent but he also refuses to hate him".

The Martin Luther King we should remember today is the leader of peaceful demonstrations and marches; in particular his role as man of the hour in the great March on Washington in August 1963.

I HAVE A DREAM TODAY

At that great gathering of about 200,000 Americans in person, and millions of Americans by radio and television, what was vital was the symbolism of black and white together. All the major leaders of Negro America were there, including a few who have since become anti-white militants. Also with them were well-known white Americans such as labor leader Walter Reuther of the A.F.L., C.I.O., and Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, a distinguished Presbyterian, then head of the largest interdenominational body in the nation.

President Kennedy welcomed the march and talked with its leaders. Joan Baez and a thousand others sang the songs of freedom, not of hate. "White and Black together, We Shall Overcome", they sang. And then in the symbolic presence of Lincoln, Martin Luther King spoke.

First of all he looked back at the hundred years since Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Pessimistically, it seemed, he recounted the sad tale of a century of discrimination and poverty. But he held aloft the ideals of a previous century, of the authors of the Declaration of Independence and of the makers of the Constitution. He called on all Americans to honour those principles of a Revolutionary age.

But then he departed from his script and proclaimed to America, not a programme of reform, but a vision of hope.

"I have a dream today" he said, and repeated the phrase throughout the remainder of his speech. He foretold an America in which black and white would live together.

"With this faith we will be able to work together, - to stand for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day." To a weeping, cheering audience he concluded: "When we let freedom ring - we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestant and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of that old Negro spiritual, 'Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we are free at last!'"

Eighteen days later four little girls in a Negro Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama were killed by a bomb-blast. Since that time, the world has watched five years of violence culminating in the events of the last few days. Formerly nonviolent movements such as SNCC have turned over to militancy. Many impatient Negro leaders have turned towards the Black Power movement. They now preach a message of hate first exemplified in such white organisations as the Ku Klux Klan, but now thrown back at Whitey by the Stokely Carmichaels and Rap Browns. These have been five years in which the message of non-violence seems to have become less and less relevant, especially as the context of the agony of the American Negro also included the unhappy war in Vietnam.

Logically, understandably, - as a man of peace, as a believer in non-violence, - Dr King had to attack that war, no matter how unpopular a move this was, long before Senators Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy took up the cudgels against it. His commitment to non-violence did not waver, at any stage. His future plans included peaceful protest marches in the city of Washington. But now, a man who lived by peace, whose greatest

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the son of a Negro Pastor named Martin Luther King, was the inheritor, then, of a gospel of love and forgiveness. Many may criticize him for his inefficiencies as an administrator, or as an organizer of Negro protest. Some may feel antagonized by the manner of his speech, by the flamboyant, often extravagant rhetoric of the Negro church. Some Negro leaders have attacked him, on the grounds that the Negro needs not to be submissive, but aggressive if Negro rights are to be fully obtained. From their point of view, a philosophy of non-violence is seen as a continued rationalization of centuries of subservience.

But such criticisms of Dr. King miss the point. He was not primarily an organization man at the head of the masses. He was not primarily an intellectual, an academic with a cool, reasoned, logical case to be presented with elegance. He was not a radical reshaper of the American tradition. He was not a revolutionary except insofar as he accepted the ideals of an earlier Revolution which proclaimed that "all men are created equal".

He was, rather, a Negro Christian pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church of Atlanta, Georgia. His grass-roots environment was the American South. His political loyalties were to the nation, whose noblest ideals of equality he wished to see put into practice. He was not a "black separatist". Despite an advanced theological and philosophical education in Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania and at Boston University, he remained true to his kind of people, in his own kind of circumstances.

Alas, when - last year - he tried to move North into the big cities, his own kind of leadership showed its greatest weaknesses. It is as a moral leader, an exemplar of a way of life, as a symbol of the potentiality of the fullest expression of "the American Dream" that he is best to be judged, praised and followed. The organization which best reflects his purposes is not a semi-political movement of Negro protest, but a Christian body, most of whose leaders are Negro pastors from Southern churches, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. From that base he captured the hearts of millions of his fellow-Americans, black and white.

We will best remember him, not for the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955 - important though that was in projecting him on to the national scene; not for attempts to bring about practical solutions to desperate practical problems of poverty, housing and segregation; but for his moral leadership, his voice of Christian idealism, not of secular reform. In the very near future, let us hope, slums will be cleared, men given jobs, children

honour on earth was the award in 1964 of the Nobel Peace Prize, is the victim of violence; and America has another martyr.

MESSAGE OF PEACE

At this time of memorializing, I feel that it is incumbent upon us to keep alive that vital message of peace, despite all that has happened. The life of a martyr has not been lived without a purpose if we can proclaim his faith. I would like to do this in two ways. First of all, I ask us to consider prayerfully, Dr King's own injunctions to his own followers in the South, at Selma, Alabama; in Birmingham; in Atlanta. He presented to them ten commandments. These could be engraved as permanent memorials to him. Here are some of them:

Meditate daily on the teachings and life of Jesus.

Walk and talk in the manner of love for God is love.

Pray daily to be used by God in order that all men might be free.

Refrain from the violence of fist, tongue or heart.

Seek to perform regular service for others and for the world.

Those commandments continue to be worthy to be followed. Dr King himself once said that 'a man who won't die for something is not fit to live'. He has died for those simple commandments.

And now we, too, must meditate, walk, talk and pray in the memory of that death.

Finally, we may recall Dr King's own words, not at the Nobel Peace Prize award giving ceremony (and that was a superb speech), but his much simpler and direct comments as he lay in a hospital bed, at the time he learned that he had been named for the award.

'The presentation of this award - brings with it a demand for deepening one's commitment to nonviolence as a philosophy of life and reminds us that we have only begun to explore the powerful spiritual and moral resources which are possible through this way of life. We are also challenged to face the international implications of nonviolence for we know that there can be no justice in our society unless there is peace in the world.'

If we are now in a Negro Baptist Church in Georgia, we would be weeping; and we

would be rejoicing - weeping for a new widow and her four children; weeping for a nation in torment. But must we not also conclude by remembering that there would be a joyful 'band' waiting at the porch ready to proclaim in music 'the full assurance of the glory that shall be revealed.' When the Saints come Marching In, Martin Luther King will be amongst them.

from page 5.

Whenever you take a stand for truth and justice, you are liable to scorn. Often you will be called an impractical idealist or a dangerous radical. Sometimes it might mean going to jail. If such is the case, you must honourably grace the jail with your presence. It might even mean physical death. But if physical death is the price that some must pay to free their children from a permanent life psychological death, then nothing could be more Christian.

'I still believe that standing up for the truth of God is the greatest thing in the world. This is the end of life. The end of life is not to be happy. The end of life is not to achieve pleasure and avoid pain. The end of life is to do the will of God, come what may.'

'I still believe that love is the most durable power in the world. Over the centuries men have sought to discover the highest good. This has been the chief quest of ethical philosophy. . . What is the summum bonum of life? I think I have discovered the highest good. It is love. This principle stands at the centre of the cosmos. As John says, "God is love". He who loves is a participant in the being of God. He who hates does not know God'.

His involvement in the struggle for freedom and justice for the Negro people was not without great cost to him. He testified to the fact that he had known very few quiet days in the last few years.

The narration of his trials and sufferings sounds very much like the narration of the missionary trials and sufferings endured by St. Paul

Imprisoned in Alabama and Georgia jail 12 times, his home bombed twice, victim of a near-fatal stabbing, a day seldom passed without one or more threats of deaths passed to him or the members of his family.

'I must admit that at times I have felt that I could no longer bear such a heavy burden and have been tempted to retreat to a more quiet and serene life,' he said. 'But every time such a temptation appeared, something came to strengthen and sustain my determination. I have learned



now that the Master's burden is light precisely when we take his yoke upon us.

'My personal trials have taught me the value of unmerited suffering. I soon realised that there were two ways in which I could respond to my situation - to react with bitterness or to seek to transform the suffering into a creative force. I decided to follow the latter course. I have lived these last few years with the conviction that unearned suffering is redemptive. There are some who still find the Cross a stumbling block, others consider it foolishness, but I am more convinced than ever before that it is the power of God unto social and individual salvation. So, like the Apostle Paul, I can now say humbly, yet proudly: 'I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.'

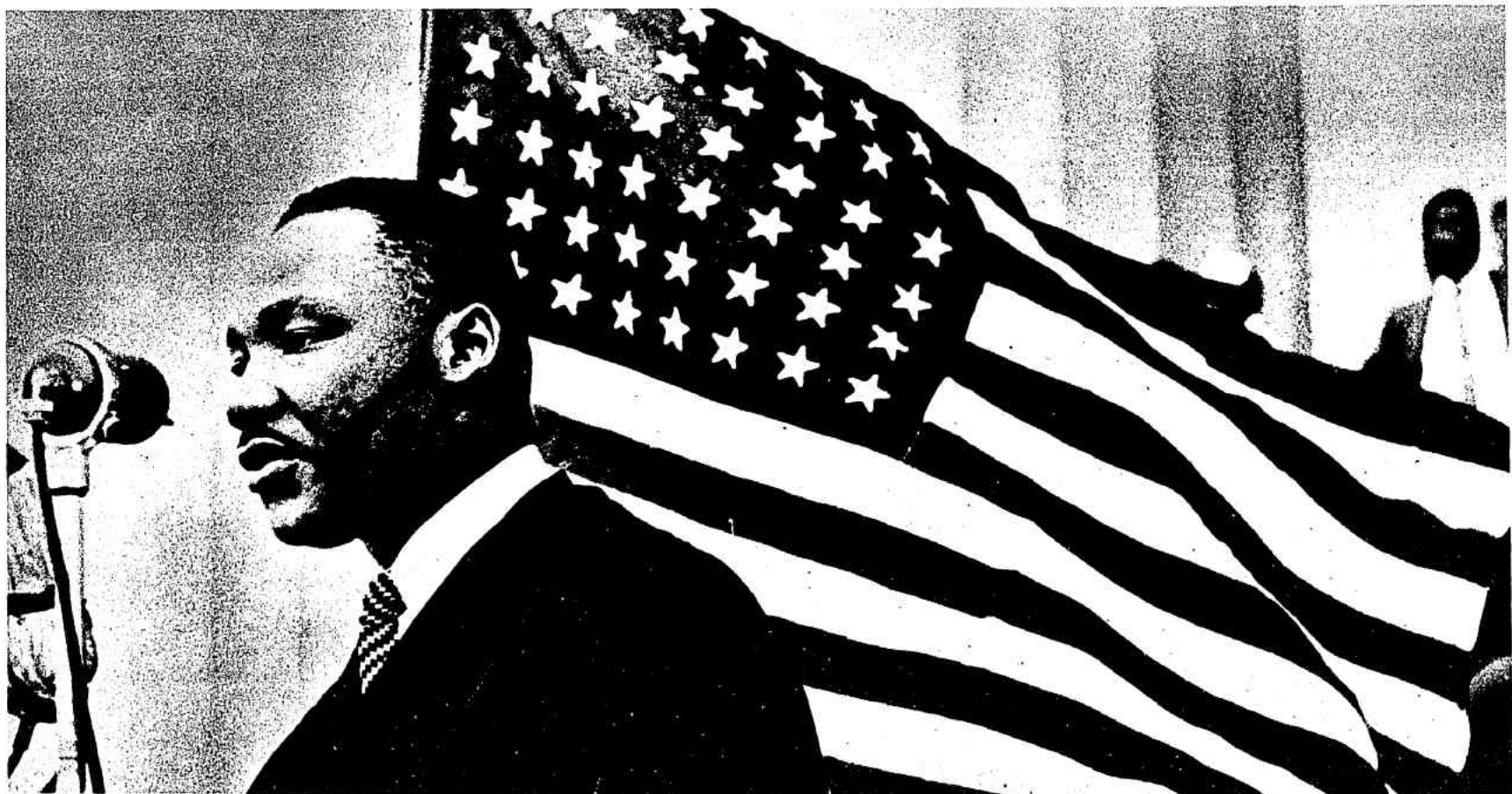
'The agonising moments through which I have passed during the last few years have also drawn me closer to God. More than ever before, I am convinced of the reality of a personal God. . . God has been profoundly real to me in recent years. In the midst of outer dangers I have felt an inner calm. In the midst of lonely days and dreary nights I have heard an inner voice saying: 'Lo, I will be with you.' I have felt the power of God transforming the fatigue of despair into the buoyancy of

hope. I am convinced that the universe is under the control of a loving purpose and that in the STRUGGLE FOR RIGHT-EOUSNESS MAN HAS COSMIC COMPANIONSHIP. Behind the harsh appearances of the world there is a benign power.'

In his essay on PILGRIMAGE TO NON-VIOLENCE Martin Luther King declared his conviction that, in spite of the tensions and uncertainties of this present period, something profoundly meaningful is taking place. Old systems of exploitation and oppression are passing away; new systems of justice and equality are being born. In a real sense this is a great time to be alive.

May God grant that others will take his place in the line of progression and that those of us who are alive and who share Martin Luther King's vision and conviction and his readiness to obey the mind and way of Jesus, as we are able to understand it, will contribute our share to the shaping and building of a more humane world.

To Mrs. King this gathering of Canberra residents send the assurance of our prayers that God will sustain her and her family.
Rev. Rex Matthias



VIETNAM

IDEOLOGY, PUBLIC OPINION AND THE VIETNAM DEBATE

This is the first 1600 words of a long article in the forthcoming issue of *Dissent*, which will be available in the Co-op Bookshop from April 22.

This article already has a history. When first presented as a paper to the A.N.U. Pluralist Society a year ago it seemed that, in the aftermath of the debacle of the 1966 Federal Elections and of the impotence of opposition to the visit of Air Vice Marshall Ky, the Vietnam debate had closed up. Casting himself as Cassandra the writer only added to the despair of his staff-student audience: his argument might have been different, but his prophecy was already intuitively felt. Since then much has changed: perceptions of the state of the war with the crisis of mid-1966 and the Tet offensive, Whitlam for Calwell and a new A.L.P. strategy, the Senate Elections, a new Prime Minister and an apparent variation in Government policy. Yet it still seems that the original hypothesis is tenable: that a certain dominant ideological view of Australia in relation to the outside world underlies support for the Government's Vietnam policy.

PUBLIC OPINION

To begin with it is necessary to lay out public opinion; and regrettably this can only be measured by the blunt instruments of Australian Gallup Polls (Roy Morgan). It should be especially noted that questions sometimes vary from poll to poll and are often loaded; further, intensity of opinion is not measured - particularly uncertainty which is not the same as "undecided"; finally, polls are too infrequent and too irregular to provide an adequate graph of movements in opinion.

THE COMMITMENT OF AUSTRALIAN FORCES TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM

	May. 65	Jul. 65	Feb. 66	Nov. 67
Approve %	52	59	48	37
Disapprove %	37	27	35	46

Undecided % 11 14 17 17
The question related to Sir Robert Menzies' announcement on April 29, 1965 of the commitment of an infantry battalion.

The question related to the proposed increase in the Australian commitment from one to two infantry battalions.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF AUSTRALIAN FORCES FROM VIETNAM.

	Sept. 1965	Sept. 1966	May 1967
Continue %	56	61	62
Bring Back %	28	27	24
Undecided %	16	12	14

N.B. Sets of figures from these two tables are not comparable, although they have been compared in the press, by politicians and by Australian Gallup Polls. Questions asking approval or disapproval of decisions to send troops are different from questions asking should troops already in Vietnam continue fighting or be brought back to Australia.

OPINION FOR U.S. AND ITS ALLIES

	Sept. 1967	Dec. 1967	Feb. 1968
Increase	37	38	37
Hold on	18	25	21
Total For	55	63	58
Get Out	29	24	24
Undecided	16	13	18

The question related to Mr Holt's announcement of October 17, 1967 of the increase in Australia's forces from 6,300 to 8,000 men.

It is worthwhile quoting the question: "Do you think the U.S. and her allies should increase their war effort in Vietnam for a quick victory, or hold things about as they are, or get out of Vietnam now?" Given the hawk-dove debate in the U.S., e.g. Johnson v. Fulbright (about which respondents were probably not

greatly aware), and, more importantly, the policy of the Menzies and Holt Governments and Mr. Whitlam's line during 1967 (see below under "The Debate"), it is doubtful if "hold on" respondents can automatically be counted as being "for" American and Australian Vietnam policy. Further, there is a remarkable coincidence between the combined "hold on" and "get out" percentages - September 47% and December 49% - and the 46% in the intervening November poll against the last increase in Australian forces. As to be expected, the "increase" percentages of September and December 37% and 38% - line up with the 37% in November favouring that increase. The February poll was taken on Saturday 17 and Sunday 18, during the Tet Offensive, which opened on 30 January and entered its second phase on 18 January with rocket and mortar attacks on U.S. and allied bases. At this stage a variety of conflicting evaluations of the offensive were in circulation; General Westmoreland was still claiming victory and had not yet been reported as asking for massive reinforcements. Even so, note the 5% rise in "undecided"

THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM

	July 1966*	Sept. 1967	Dec. 1967
Approve %	56	39	40
Disapprove %	24	43	38
Undecided %	20	18	22

*The question asked related to Mr Holt's statement supporting U.S. bombing of oil installations in Hanoi and Haiphong.

+Categories here in fact were "continue bombing", "stop it", and "undecided".

NEGOTIATIONS.

February 1967: the alternative between the U.S. and its allies fighting on for complete victory and seeking a compromise peace: "fight on" - 27%, "seek compromise" - 62%, "undecided" - 11%.

SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM

November, 1967, just after the Presidential, Senate and House of Representatives elections of September - October: "Yes" - 48%, "No" - 25%, "No opinion" - 27%.

NATIONAL SERVICEMEN AND THE VIETNAM WAR

	Dec. 65	Feb. 66	Apr. 66	Jul. 66	Dec. 66	Aug. 67
Send to Vietnam	37	32	38	38	37	42

	52	57	49	52	52	49
Keep in Australia						
Undecided	11	11	13	10	11	9

VIEW OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

In an article of this kind it is scarcely possible to establish (this the writer is doing elsewhere), only to assert that there is a dominant ideological view of Australia in relation to the outside world and to briefly describe that view. It is an image of the international order and of Australia's position in it. It is part of the populist ideology prevalent in Australian society. The map of the world is conceived of in what geographers term "azimuthal equidistant projection": Australia is at the centre, with every point at its true distance and in the right direction; although there are distortions in area size and shape of other countries: Australia is the natural focus of attention of all Powers, friends and enemies alike.

The view has two main parts: a notion of threat and a notion of alliance. According to the former, Australia is peculiarly open to invasion, or subject to pressure to change vital national policy, by some alien Power - naturally, not an Anglo-Saxon Power. All that seems to be necessary for a country to be identified as a threat is for it to exist in a more or less cohesive form, or to maintain some kind of presence, in Asia and the Pacific. Of course, a threat becomes more ominous if it can be accommodated to that great national myth, the Yellow Peril. Since the 1890's China, Russia, Japan, after a gap Japan again, Russia plus China, for a time Indonesia, and now China alone have been



.....The First Division of the U.S. Airborne Cavalry embarks at Chu Lai

successively identified as the threat. This identification of threat does not appear to be necessarily connected with any customary politico-military assessment of threat in terms of intention and capability in the context of the balance of power in world politics. The threat is simply out there: this amounts to a kind of national paranoia. So the line on fighting in South Vietnam is that it is better to meet the threat of China "there" (in South Vietnam) than "here" (in Australia): Communist China controls North Vietnam; North Vietnam has invaded South Vietnam; if South Vietnam falls then the other states of South-East Asia will topple over like a row of dominoes; whereupon the Yellow hordes will be poised to sweep across the continent.

The notion of alliance is one native to Australia; this can be reduced to a number of assumptions; some of which are inconsistent. Only those relevant to the Vietnam debate are mentioned here. There is the idea of the utter dependence of Australia on a Great Power ally, once the U.K. and now the U.S. It derives from a sense of isolation from homelands in the British Isles and from the pattern of colonial-mother country relations. It is connected with the feeling of exposure to invasion; but it does not require any immediately identifiable threat. Again, the alliance is seen as a relationship of kinship or friendship, rather than shared interests but it is also held that Australia must build up with its Great Power ally a credit balance of goodwill, which can be drawn upon when the inevitable cataclysm occurs. Further, the Great Power ally is deemed to be virtually omnipotent, able to protect Australia if only it exercises its power. Thus according to this notion, Australia is in Vietnam because of its pact of friendship with the U.S. or to build up a credit balance of goodwill with the U.S.; and American power must prevail against aggression from the North.

Now this dominant ideological view is intractable. It is not susceptible to argument; and assumptions are maintained even if rebutted by empirical evidence. Indeed, the view, as an image of the outside world, largely governs perceptions of external politics: it functions to select and order information received, usually via the mass media. Australian foreign policy is, naturally, perceived in this way; and, assuming there is any concern, propaganda justifying policy is most effective if presented from this ideological world view. Of course, perceptions do change, as for example of Indonesia which was no longer seen as a threat after the failure of the coup of 1 October and the subsequent massacres and establishment of the New Order. Probably if by chance

the Cultural Revolution led to civil war or warlordism, China would no longer be regarded as a threat. Once, the whole notion of alliance was in jeopardy: with the sinking of the Prince of Wales and the Repulse on 10 December 1941, the surrender of Singapore on 15 February and the failure of the U.K. to come to Australia's aid when facing apparent imminent Japanese invasion. The Labor Government had to act to restore national morale: Curtin issued his famous "we turn to America" New Year message for 1942, although he knew that Roosevelt had already decided to send U.S. forces because Australia was strategically vital to the U.S. as a base from which to strike back at Japan. So the myth grew that the U.S. came to Australia's rescue because of friendship - "hands clasped across the Pacific" - or because both were English-speaking peoples; and the notion of alliance has been transferred from the U.K. to the U.S. However, should the U.S. be "defeated" in Vietnam (i.e., accept a peace settlement in which the NLF became the dominant party in a coalition government in Saigon, with the probable eventual reunification of Vietnam under Hanoi) and withdraw its forces from the South-East Asian mainland, then the notion of alliance might again be in jeopardy. Perhaps in such a crisis, with nowhere else to turn, through catharsis there might emerge a sense of Australian independence and a conception of alliance as an arrangement of convenience.

This is broad speculation indeed. It is however, argued in this article that during the Vietnam War, and never before in Australian history, events in the outside world have with some success challenged the dominant ideological view: the impact of external events of and related to the war has from time to time been so overwhelming as to make apparent to many holding this view a disjunction between image and reality. Not that reality has been, or could be apprehended; but it has seemed much more complex than the unsophisticated image. For many, perceptions have at times been blurred, and opinions have changed or at least become uncertain. Connected with such disjunctions there have been gaps between Government claims about the war and actualities. Those against the war have rarely so acted as to reinforce any disjunction; and only since the retirement of Mr. Calwell from the Leadership has the Opposition exploited such gaps to attack the Government's credibility over the war.

Robert Cooksey

(The rest of the article examines the Vietnam debate and these movements in public opinion, and concludes with some thoughts on strategies for changing Australia's Vietnam policy.)

REVIEWS

"CHINA OBSERVED" by Colin Mackerras and Neal Hunter. Feb. 1968. Published by Thomas Nelson Ltd. Price - \$4.95. The authors are both former ANU students who graduated here in Chinese. Colin Mackerras is now a research scholar in the Dept. of Far Eastern History.

"If the Chinese knew what other countries were really like, they would be less assured that world revolution was imminent, and therefore less belligerent. In the same way, if people in Western countries knew the truth about China they would be less eager to believe in the need, so assiduously fostered by the popular press, to restrain her from aggression.

"If both sides tried to know their enemy, instead of merely hating him, the results could be surprising."

This is a sobering thought, and despite all its shortcomings from an academic point of view, CHINA OBSERVED must be welcomed for its frank attempt to give Westerners a personal insight into a living and vibrant China. It will go some way towards removing the popular misconceptions which lead Australians to regard China as a ruthless monster bent on invading all South East Asia.

Written as a series of articles on all aspects of life in China, ranging from the arts to the Cultural Revolution, the book for this very reason lacks cohesion. The reader is too often left to make deductions on the basis of recurring observations, but rarely has all the information at hand that would enable him to do this satisfactorily. Surely the authors themselves are in a far better position to give a more central interpretation of their fascinating impressions than their readers.

Although they state at the beginning that they do not intend to present a scholarly authoritative analysis of Chinese life, this approach does result in some gaps.

One such gap that springs to mind almost immediately is the People's Liberation Army which according to Mao himself is one of the comestres of the Revolution. Despite its increasingly important role in the three-way alliance with Party and State, its pace-setting role in recent years and revival under Lin Piao, it does not rank an article itself an receives only very scattered references in one or two of the other articles. Such an omission can be misleading if readers attempt to form some notion, however vague, of Chinese life as a whole.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION FAILURE

However, the vital and lively approach more than made up for those deficiencies and make CHINA OBSERVED one of the most thoroughly readable and enjoyable books at present available in this field. Most importantly it shows that the surface of the subject is only being scratched and the book will no doubt awaken a desire in many to probe much deeper into many still unanswered questions.

Of particular interest is the interpretation by Neal Hunter of the Cultural Revolution

as a failure for its inability to revitalise and rejuvenate the centralised bureaucratic structure of life. If anything it only encouraged the "yes" man by showing the dangers of enthusiasm in support of one particular cause when fortunes could fluctuate so suddenly and violently. The cynicism which this engenders is the last thing that China needs and may dampen the peculiar optimism of the people which has been so pronounced since the Revolution.

Colin Mackerras also shows an interesting and often-reflected aspect of the formation of the Peoples Communes, often dismissed in the West as a failure or an attempt to coerce peasants forcibly to farm collectively. The "basic reason", says the author, was the necessity to use large scale irrigation projects and efficient water control. The combination of different co-operatives to achieve this has yielded great material benefits.

SOME WESTERN MISCONCEPTIONS

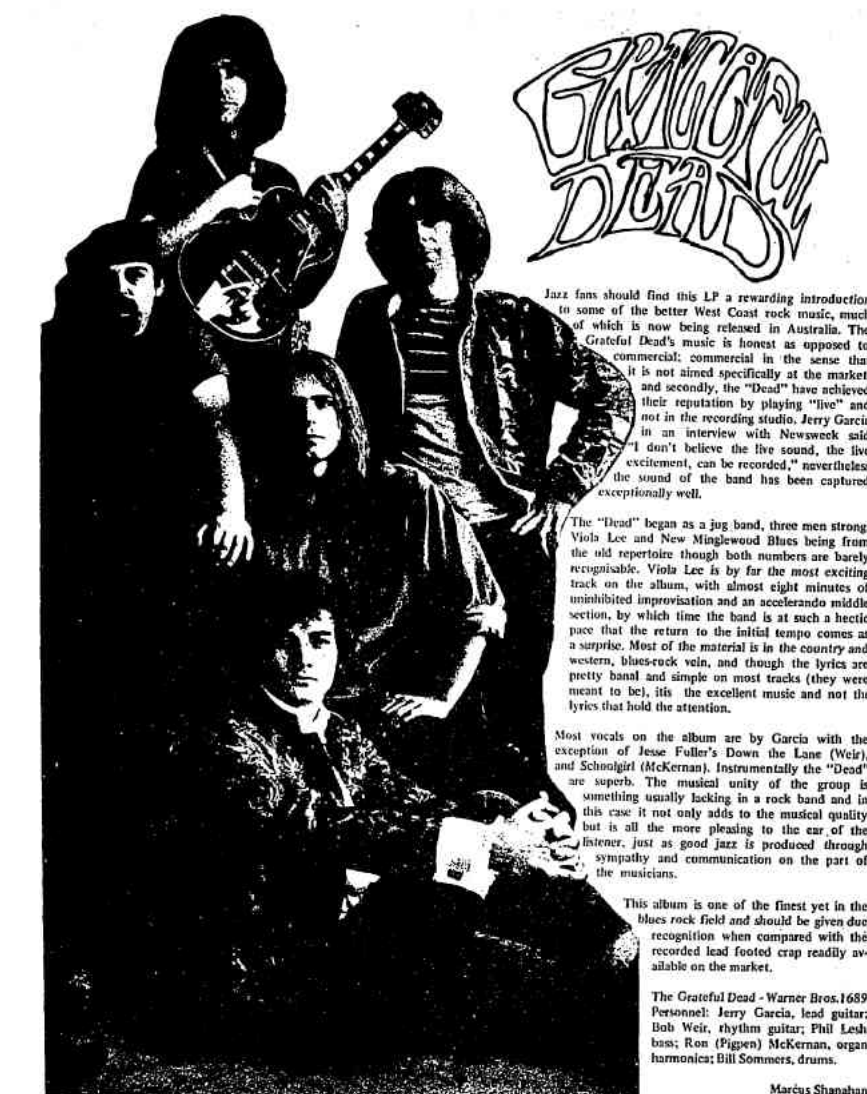
It is significant that the authors do not blindly accept all aspects of communist rule and pose the simple question so often asked in this country about features of the regime which Westerners find objectionable. The refreshing direct dialogue reported in some of the articles is as revealing in many instances as the description itself.

When Mackerras is told by his students that they had celebrated after China had exploded her third nuclear bomb, he replied that he did not like bombs, peoples bombs included (as opposed to imperialist bombs). "Of course we do not like bombs either," said the students, "but how can we feel safe from the U.S. imperialists if we don't have our own bombs?"

On several occasions the authors explain Chinese attitudes by analogy with Western and Christian views, as well as pre-Revolution ones, on similar issues. Not only does this show up some of the narrowness of thought in our own society but it serves to make Chinese ideas more familiar by bringing them down to earth.

Crude Western notions about Mao's thought are connected by showing its relevance to Chinese conditions and the oversimplification of the Cultural Revolution by the Western press into a conflict between pro and anti Maoists is highlighted in Neal Hunter's exciting account of the Revolution in Shanghai.

As a contribution towards a far better understanding of Modern China than exists in Australia at present, this book is a big step in the right direction.



Jazz fans should find this LP a rewarding introduction to some of the better West Coast rock music, much of which is now being released in Australia. The Grateful Dead's music is honest as opposed to commercial; commercial in the sense that it is not aimed specifically at the market, and secondly, the "Dead" have achieved their reputation by playing "live" and not in the recording studio. Jerry Garcia in an interview with Newsweek said "I don't believe the live sound, the live excitement, can be recorded," nevertheless the sound of the band has been captured exceptionally well.

The "Dead" began as a jug band, three men strong, Viola Lee and New Minglewood Blues being from the old repertoire though both numbers are barely recognisable. Viola Lee is by far the most exciting track on the album, with almost eight minutes of uninhibited improvisation and an accelerando middle section, by which time the band is at such a hectic pace that the return to the initial tempo comes as a surprise. Most of the material is in the country and western, blues-rock vein, and though the lyrics are pretty banal and simple on most tracks (they were meant to be), it's the excellent music and not the lyrics that hold the attention.

Most vocals on the album are by Garcia with the exception of Jesse Fuller's Down the Lane (Weir, and Schooniger (McKernan). Instrumentally the "Dead" are superb. The musical unity of the group is something usually lacking in a rock band and in this case it not only adds to the musical quality but is all the more pleasing to the ear of the listener, just as good jazz is produced through sympathy and communication on the part of the musicians.

This album is one of the finest yet in the blues rock field and should be given due recognition when compared with the recorded lead footed crap readily available on the market.

The Grateful Dead - Warner Bros. 1689 Personnel: Jerry Garcia, lead guitar; Bob Weir, rhythm guitar; Phil Lesh, bass; Ron (Pigpen) McKernan, organ harmonica; Bill Sommers, drums.

Marcus Shanahan

GOON

Goon - But Not Forgotten. Parlophone.

Spike Milligan
Harry Secobe
Peter Sellers

Side One: Six Charlies in Search of an Author (Milligan)
Side Two: Insurance - The White Man's Burden (Milligan)

Yet another collector's item for confessed Goon fans and a steaming opportunity to initiate others not so warped. Let it be remembered that the first Goon Show was recorded on May 28 1951, and the name lives on. What else need be said?
Available from Music Lovers.

JAZZ FEAST THIS W.END

This coming weekend, 20 - 21 April, three groups will present a "mini-festival" of jazz at the Albert Hall in Canberra. On Saturday night from 8pm to midnight Geoff Bull's Olympia Jazz Band from Sydney and Greg Gibsons New Capital Jazz Band will present traditional jazz. The format will be a concert and dance combined, with seats at the front for those wishing to listen, and space at the back for dancing.

The Sunday evening concert starting at 8pm will be more formal. The John Sangster Quintet comprises five of Australia's leading modern jazz musicians, and features Dave McRae (piano) and Graeme Lyall (tenor).

R.C. Admission is \$1.00 on Saturday and \$1.60 on Sunday with a weekend concession ticket of \$2.10 for both concerts. Tickets are available from David Jones and the Swing Shop in Kingston.

REVUE 68

The 1968 ANU Revue requires willing helpers in backstage work. All forms of assistance are required stage hands, set constructors, dressers, wardrobe mistress, seamstresses, ushers, house manager, prompt and properties.

WANTED especially artists and any one who can make masks.

A meeting of all those interested will be held on Saturday April 27 in Childers St. Hall at 2.30 p.m.

Interested persons please leave your name for Wol Ogston, Stage Director, Dept. of Zoology or Jon Stephens, SRC Office, Unioln Build.

REVUE OPENS JUNE 6TH, 1968

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PLURALISTS



At the Pluralists Society meeting on April 4, Frank Stevens and Jim Anthony, from the Institute of Advanced Studies, expressed concern that the A.N.U. was being compromised in "an attempt to balance the expediency of good relations with Government departments, and a desire to carry out fundamental research. Their talk was entitled "Paternalism in Australian Territories."



Mr Jim Anthony

They asserted that the Government departments concerned had imposed restrictions on their freedom of enquiry, and that the University had acted reprehensibly in this matter.

In a statement released by the two speakers it was claimed that "the fact that on both the occasions under consideration the A.N.U. failed to make any particular protest about the restrictions being placed on its research workers is an action which might be interpreted as condoning the conditions of restraint and not in the best interests of the University as an international centre of learning".

"They further believe that by acceding to the demands of short term Government policy this in way the University not only appears to be in accord with that policy but fails to allow the development of research which could give rise to viable and acceptable alternatives."

Frank Stevens spoke of the restrictions placed on him in 1966 which effectively prevented him from carrying out research into some areas of his planned study of conditions of Aboriginal labor in North Australia. He was twice refused permission to visit reserves in Groote Eylandt and Arnhem Land on the grounds of lack of accommodation and transport although on the latter occasion he had taken the precaution of arranging accommodation on Groote Eylandt prior to his application.

Mr Stevens claimed that similar restrictions had been placed on journalists and members of the Seamen's Union who applied for shore leave on Groote Eylandt in 1965.

The guarantee which they were all requested to sign was considered to be a severe restriction on freedom of movement, often rendering worthless the purpose of the planned visit.

Mr Stevens' main concern was that by imposing such conditions the Government is effectively ensuring the feedback of data which the Administration wants to receive, and preventing any serious criticism of its policies which could lead to their improvement.

Jim Anthony spoke of his experiences in attempting to conduct research on the problems of native policy and political development in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

Mr Anthony, a flamboyant speaker, referred both to the guarantees he and his wife were requested to sign in order to obtain permission to visit New Guinea and to a letter from a Mr Little in Port Moresby to Mr Wentworth in which Anthony was spoken of as "a clever educated and dangerous man" who "hates all whites" and "specialises in fermenting industrial trouble".

He identified the paternalists in New Guinea as firstly the Department of Territories which held the policy of regarding the natives as excitable people who must be protected against themselves and others who might produce disaffection, secondly the planters and businessmen concerned to keep their dominant position in the Territory, thirdly the European legislators who claim the natives are not yet ready for independence and so try to minimise their exposure to the outside world, and finally the new paternalists - the "white liberal academics" considering themselves the guardians of wisdom.

Mr Anthony directed his strongest criticism at this last group whom he considers are basically no different from the old colonists for, although taking a left-wing stand in private, act openly in support of the existing relation between whites and blacks in New Guinea and join in the exploitation practised by the other three groups.

In the letter the ANU Research Team was spoken of as a "hot-bed of leftist", and Mr Wentworth was provided with difficult questions to ask the Minister for Territories in Parliament as to why a man with such a dangerous record both in Fiji and Hawaii was allowed to enter the Territory.

Mr Anthony and his wife were asked to sign guarantees that they would undertake no activity on political, social and industrial issues while in the Territory which, in the opinion of the Administrator, were likely to have disturbing or disruptive effects.

Mr Anthony followed these comments with an elaboration of the origins and meanings of the term "paternalism" and its application to New Guinea.

Mr Anthony's attempts to define paternalism and demonstrate its existence in New Guinea led the discussion downhill into a general attack on whites, and an assertion that they can never hope to lose their paternalism in regard to the under-developed countries, while "Negroes from the streets of Detroit" would be far better able to help their black brothers.

Mr Anthony and Mr Stevens did little to prove that the relationship of whites to blacks in New Guinea or the Northern Territory is in fact paternalism, but their criticisms of the Government's restriction and the University's condonation of these practices were timely warnings for all who claim to uphold the basic freedoms in our society.

CHRISTIAN CAMP

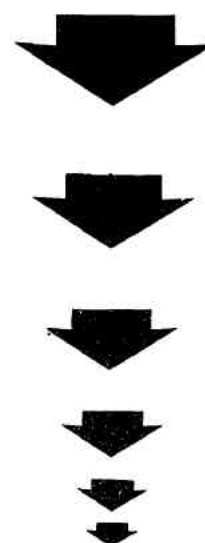
The weekend of March 15th - 17th saw the holding of a camp at Sturt Island on the Murrumbidgee sponsored by the Newman Society, Student Christian Movement and Wesley Foundation - the first camp of this sort for some time and a camp unique in its ecumenical sponsorship. The programme was intentionally light and non-religious.

The two main topics were Drugs and Conscriptio. The Drugs session with speakers Dr. Furnass, Mr. Gough and Detective Sergeant Kent added some light to what some would have thought was a dead topic. In particular Detective Kent's exhibits, photos and anecdotes found a favourable response. The discussion took a prophetic turn with rather speculative philosophising on future trends in society. The Conscriptio session showed up a high degree of muddled thinking on the part of the organizers in inviting incompatible speakers, anticipating that they would speak along well defined lines. Nevertheless, despite a noticeable uneasiness, all speakers were well received - Father Morgan, the Chaplain-General of the Armed forces; Father Hayley an experienced army chaplain with Vietnam service and John Christie, a hard hitting, well-argued conscientious objector.

Supporting activities were varied and entertaining. Gerald Stubbs almost convinced his audience to a 'Universal Salvation' sect based on biblical interpretations which were a little obscure. The University Public Speaking Group featured with a brand of fun which comprised unorthodox meeting procedure and frivolous speeches. For those unable to keep religion out of religious camps, church services, somewhat less majestic than usual were held on Sunday morning. John Hanrahan concluded the week-end with a frank critique of University Christian groups. The contention that 'religiousness' is a point of pride and not a quirk, whether the 'religiousness' be atheistic, agnostic or Christian could be considered as a rational for more outgoing behaviour by the religious groups.

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REVIEW SPORT POLICY

Sports Council held its budget meeting on Monday evening, April 8 and it was decided to refer the question of intra-club sport and financing of same to the Club Development and Promotion Sub-committee.

The matter arose when the tennis club questioned council's rejection of an application for 12 dozen balls for competition within the club.

To have accepted the tennis club's application would mean that Sports Union would have to find the money to finance all other intra-club contests. But finding the money is not the main problem.

Sports Council's aim is to promote sport and if money, at present being spent elsewhere, could better be used for encouraging intra-club competition then the sub-committee will have to seriously consider recommending a re-allocation of funds.

regatta

RESULTS OF ANU REGATTA - 6.4.68

Senior junior fours: Daramalan 1, Canb. RC 2, ANU 3; novice pairs: Daramalan 1, St. Edmunds 2, ANU 3; maiden eights: Telopea Park 1, St. Edmunds 2, ANU 3; sculls: H. Mackay 1, I. Griffiths 2, A. Burns 3; novice tub four: ANU Nol 1, St. Edmunds 2, ANU No 2 3; lightweight maiden fours: Lyneham 1, Daramalan 2, ANU 3; open pairs: Daramalan 1, ANU 2; school fours: Telopea Park No 2 1, Telopea Park No 1 2; maiden fours: Daramalan 1, Lyneham 2, Daramalan 1, Lyneham 2, RMC 3.

Results of three-mile time trial - eights Canberra grammar No 1, 17 min 16 sec ANU 17 min 36 sec; Canberra Grammar No 2, 19 min 28 sec; Canberra RC, 21 min 17 sec. Reg fours Daramalan 20 min 3 sec; Canberra RC, 21 min 17 sec. Tub fours ANU, 24 min 33 sec Tub pairs; Daramalan 34 min 4 sec.

in the air

Before a Sky Diving Club was officially formed at ANU six complete novices had had their first jumps, two of them reaching the free fall stage.

Spokesman for the club, Ian Gosney, said the constitution had been ratified and they hoped to become affiliated with Sports Union at the earliest possible date.

At present members are using equipment belonging to the chief instructor, Ian MacLeod, but there is not enough gear to meet the demand.

Ian is well qualified to instruct. He has jumped about 140 times and holds the Queensland record for the longest free fall.

Due to lack of Quorum

UNION
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

will now be held on

Monday April 22

at 12.45 p.m.

Upstairs Coffee Lounge

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SAT APRIL 20th YARRALUMLA WOOLSHED

8p.m. to 2.30 a.m.

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badminton

ANU BADMINTON CLUB to organise

ACT CHAMPIONSHIPS

The ANU Badminton Club organises Badminton practise on every Wednesday night at the Y M C A Gymnasium from 8.00 p.m. to 11 p.m.

During the second term the ACT Badminton Open Championship will be held for the first time. Sufficient support is available from players in ACT and it will be organised by the ANU Badminton Club. Trophies will possibly be donated by the MALAYSIAN HIGH COMMISSION sometime in July.

Intervarsity Arrangements: Will compose of men and women. A team of six players each if players are up to a reasonable standard.

Venue: W. A. (tentative)
Date: 20th to 24th May 1968
Would all interested players please contact any committee members.

table t.

TABLE TENNIS UNDER WAY

The A.C.T.T.T.A. teams competition, in which the ANU competes, will get under way on Monday 22nd April with the first round of the A grade Comp. Other grades start on Wednesday 24th.

I.V. is in Perth in May and interested people should contact Richard Mills at 70411.

league

The A.N.U. Team continued on its winning way by defeating Woden Valley B Grade by 22 - 7. Tries by T. Goudcamp 2, D. Riddell 2, Martin 1, Wilsons 1. The game was marred by one serious injury Steve Martin (Burton Hall) fractured collar bone. We would like to see more students at training, South Oval Wednesday and Friday 5.00 to 6.30. We play in Molonglo B. Grade Competition and play Sunday afternoons. Game commences at 1.00p.m.

BUDGET COMPARISON 1967-68 INCOME

Budgeted 1967	Actual 1967	Difference	Budgeted 1968
\$ 15,947	\$ 17,847	\$ +1,900	\$ 23,100

BREAKDOWN OF 1968 BUDGET

	Percentage of Total Income
General and Administrative Expenses	22.3
Repairs and Maintenance	1.4
Major Capital Development	13.6
Minor Capital Development	11.9
IV, Equipment, Club Capital, New Club Funds	8.4
General and Equipment Grants to Clubs	42.4

caving

A.N.U. CAVING CLUB - Trip : Cooleman Plains 23 - 24 March.

The party left Burton Hall at about 7.30 a.m. and arrived at Cooleman Plains about 10.30 a.m. Camp was set up at Blue Water Holes where Cave Creek resurges and which is a magnificent camp site. The party very quickly left for Murray Cave and all went to the end admiring the formation on the way. The whole cave including all three sumps was dry. At the end there is a big rock fall through which is flowing a very strong draught suggesting that there is a big cavern beyond the known limits of Murray Cave. Four of the party: Ian Raine, Noel Call, Dave Nicholls, Norm Stokes, made valiant efforts to penetrate this rock fall but only succeeded in gaining about 20 feet. Most of the party soon left to explore Cooleman cave and Barbers cave led by Jim Atkinson and John Furlonger who had visited the area before.

hockey

Facts!

- tremendous response
- 3 teams this year (only 2 last year)
- Round Robin competition beginning 20th April and going through till 27th April for grading purposes.

At present ANU 1 is in A grade and 2 teams are in B grade but unfortunately to comply with Canberra Women's Hockey

Assoc. two teams from the same club cannot be entered in the same grade and therefore one of our teams must play under an assumed name! - Name chosen is that of the suburb in which the University is situated - ACTON.

MAY 4th - Challenge round
MAY 11th - Competition begins in earnest

Anyone wishing to make a late start should see Di Taylor in Burton.

SATURDAY 20th

CAVING - Weekend trip to Cheitmore

ATHLETICS - Cross Country, Stromlo

RUGBY UNION - v Easts. 3 grades main game 3.15p.m.

MENS SOFTBALL - Behind Chemistry building.

SUNDAY 21st

MOUNTAINEERING - Walking and Climbing at Bungonia.

AUST. RULES - Trials South Oval RIFLE CLUB.

Details of an All Day Shoot on March 21st are posted on the Union Sports Notice Board.

RUGBY UNION

A reminder that subscriptions must be paid by the first game (April 20th).



Ex-Richmond players and coach of Melbourne University 'Blacks' for seven years Frank Dunin, is the new coach for ANU's Australian Rules Teams.

With the influx of new players and return of a few old hands, ANU could give a good account of itself in Division 1 at Inter-Varsity this year.

For regular Aussie Rules watchers it will be good to see Andy Greene and Kit Stevens back in the side and Frank says Peter Reece who will make a reappearance after a year in Sydney doing his Dip. Ed, will be a valuable ruckman.

softball

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO GET FIT

If this idea appeals to you but you would like to play some sport, Men's Softball may be just what you are after. An internal competition is under way and interested people should ring Bruce Mitchell at History R.S.S.S.

JOHN W. GRANT

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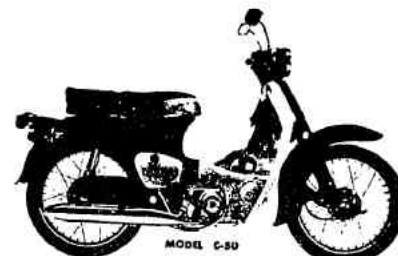
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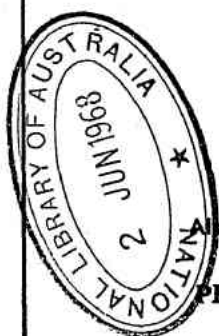
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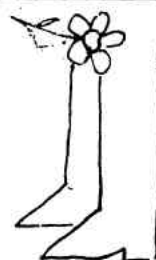
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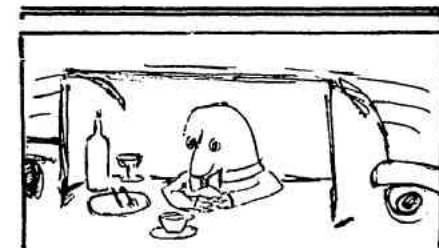
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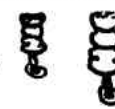


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